

SECTION I

THE TRIBES OF ALBANIA AND MONTENEGRO

I. THE TRIBAL SYSTEM IN NORTH ALBANIA

THE tribal system seems to be a social stage through which mankind normally passes. Within historic times Europe was a welter of tribes, from which in the course of years have been evolved the present "Powers"—Powers which themselves are compounded each of several racial elements and whose frontiers are in a constant state of flux.

In Europe it is only in the Balkan peninsula that the tribal system survived intact into the twentieth century. The Great War has broken up the last tribe lands of Europe—Montenegro and North Albania; and as I lived for some time in each previous to the catastrophe, it seems worth while to record all the details I managed to collect about these interesting relics of a distant past.

The Balkans were tribal in Herodotus's day. Strabo (*ob. A.D. 25*) gives a clear account of the Illyrian and Epirotic tribes who in his time dwelt on the east coast of the Adriatic and had recently been subdued by Rome. "The Istri," says he, "are the first people on the Illyrian coast contiguous to Italy and the Carni. The present government has advanced the limits of Italy to Pola, a city of Istria." Now again, 1,900 years later, Italy has "advanced her limits"—and included Pola, and hankers after other districts which Strabo describes as under Roman rule. "Next come the Japodes, who are a warlike people, but were completely subdued by Augustus . . . the country is poor and the people live mainly on spelt and millet. Their armour is of the Celtic fashion. Their bodies are punctured like those of the other Illyrian and Thracian people." Next come the Liburnians with a city Scardona and a navigable river (the Kerka), and then the "coast of the Dalmatæ and their naval arsenal Salona. They were long at war with the Romans and had fifty considerable settlements, some of which had the rank of cities. Augustus burnt them down . . . then follows the river Narenta, and the peoples of the neighbourhood are the Duorizi, Ardæi, and Pieraii. . . . The Romans drove the Ardæi into the interior because the coast was infested by their piracies, and forced them to cultivate the land. But, as the country was barren, the nation was entirely ruined and nearly extinguished. The same happened to neighbouring nations. People once very powerful are now extinct or

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175 reduced to the lowest conditions, as the Antariatæ, Ardæi, and Dardani
 105 among the Illyrians, and the Triballi among the Thracians."

101 "Augustus burnt them down"—but their descendants survived.
 Many a Balkan tribesman became a Roman Emperor, and Rome no longer rules the Balkans. A race is seldom, if ever, extirpated. Probably many of our conquered races will survive the British Empire.

Strabo, going southward, mentions—in the Bocche di Cattaro—the city Rhizon (Risano), then Lissus (Alessio) and Dyracchium (Durazzo), with much detail regarding climate, crops, and population. Of great interest is his exact definition of the frontier where Greece begins, putting it much farther south than the present one. He describes the Epirote tribes, Threspoti, Cassiopæi, Amphilochi, and Molotti, and says as you sail into the Ambracian gulf (the gulf of Prevesa), on the south side are the Greeks and the temple of Apollo Actius, and on the north are "the Cassiopæi, an Epirote tribe extending as far as the recesses of the gulf. The Amphilochi are Epirotes, as are all those who inhabit the rugged country situate above and close to the Illyrian mountains. . . . With the Epiroti are mixed the Illyrian nations, some of whom are situate on the southern side of the mountains." He names eleven more tribes and states: "Formerly each of these nations was under its own Prince, save the Enchelii, whose chiefs descended from Cadmus and Harmonia. . . . The Molotti were subjects of Pyrrhus Neoptolemus, son of Achilles, and his descendants, who were Thes-salians. The rest were governed by native princes. Some tribes were continually striving to obtain mastery over others, but were finally subdued by the Macedonians. They gave the name of Upper Macedonia to the country above Lyncestis, Pelagonia, Orestias, and Elimia. . . . Some writers extend the name Macedonia to all the land as far as Corcyra (Corfu), assigning as reason the mode of cutting the hair, their language, their use of the chlamys, and similar things in which they resembled the Macedonians. Some of them, however, speak two tongues. On the dissolution of Macedonia they fell under the Roman power. . . . At that time the whole of Epirus was well peopled . . . at present a great part is uninhabited, and the inhabited parts are in the state of villages or in ruins. Even the oracle of Dodona is deserted. . . . Persons who hold office among the Thesproti and Molotti are called *Pelignes*, as among the Macedonians. . . . The country now called Macedonia was formerly called Emathia."

174 This is a lucid account of the tribal conditions at the beginning of the Christian era, conditions not yet quite dead. Traces of the language common to these Macedonian, Epirote, and Illyrian people are still
 622 found in Albania. "E Mathia" means "The Great." The Albanian tribe
 623 still has a nominal chieftain, and is ruled by a council of "pelaki"

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district, too, is now part of Jugoslavia, and has suffered much at the hands of Serb and Montenegrin. The lands are being colonized by Serbs. Many Albanians have fled into Albania.

2. *Gusinje*.—This, in all probability, descends from some of the last of the Bosniaks who trekked south. Though largely Serbophone, the pre-war Gusinjans were so violently anti-Serb that when the Treaty of Berlin awarded them to Montenegro they resisted annexation so fiercely that the plan was dropped. Terrible vengeance was taken for this by the Montenegrins in 1913 and the Serbs in 1919. Men, women, and children were mercilessly slaughtered. Some thousands fled to Scutari for protection. A British force was there then. So greatly had these refugees suffered that they preferred to die of fever in the Scutari swamps to returning to Gusinje, where, as they said, the Serbs had thrown down food to attract a crowd of hungry children and had then thrown a bomb into the midst of them.

But the Powers permitted the Serbs to keep the district. The advent of the Serb has, in fact, reproduced the conditions of the Middle Ages, when the Turks advanced. I note the facts in order to enable an observer fifty or more years hence to learn how much of an original population is wiped out or absorbed by a conqueror.

3. *Plava*.—I did not visit, as it was opposed to admitting strangers. I was told by old Marash Hutzi, of Hoti, that part of Plava derived from Hoti, but that part was of very old stock called Pagani; but he did not know if Pagani were Moslems or Catholics. "Pagani," or "Paganezi," occurs as a proper name in some Durazzo and Ragusa documents of the thirteenth century. Possibly it was a usual term for "country people" among those of the coast and the towns who spoke a Latin dialect. The "Pagani" of Plava may be an "island" of an ancient population, e.g. Vlah.

To sum up briefly, the present tribes of Albania are in all probability mainly descended from the pre-Slav Balkan inhabitants. In the Serb Empire the herdsmen were recognized as Vlah and Albanian. A very large proportion of the Albanian mountains were, as we have seen, given along with their inhabitants to Serbian monasteries. Under Turkish rule the power of the monasteries naturally dwindled rapidly, and the Albanian serfs, more especially as they were largely, if not entirely, Catholic, would as rapidly break loose from servitude.

That the refugees who came into these mountains later were also of the herdsmen class there is little reason to doubt. They came with their flocks, and are to this day strictly pastoral.

As we shall see in studying the Montenegrin tribes, the ultimate fate of these refugees has been largely influenced by whether they settled in land which was under the Orthodox Church, or whether

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619 they penetrated yet farther into the Albanophone and Catholic Albanian
101 mountains. In the latter case they have remained Albanian; in the
779 former they have been Serbized, and have also acquired doubtless some
Ar Slav blood. That the Vlah (Roman-Illyrian) forms a considerable part
162 of the present Albanian inhabitants is indicated by Brocardus's reference
to "Latini" and Farlati's to "Blachia."

5. THE TRIBES OF MONTENEGRO UP TO 1913

000 The tribes of Montenegro, as they existed up to the beginning of the
Great War, have not been recorded in English. I therefore describe
them in some detail, for they are the last example of the development
of a wholly tribal nation into a State in Europe. I say the last because
the tribal system of Albania had disappeared, save in the Northern
mountains, long before Albania became independent. When I first
went to Montenegro in 1900 it consisted of about thirty tribes. I say
"about," for some were recent compounds and not, strictly speaking,
tribes.

Montenegro was divided into two parts—Montenegro and the
Brda. The first was old Montenegro with some additions on the
Herzegovinian side; the second, the mountain mass that borders on
Albania. The real "plemé" (tribe) in each consisted of a group of
people believing itself to be descended from a common male ancestor.
In some cases there was a tale of some previous inhabitants, and in
others of later settlers who had been admitted as part of the tribe.
I regret that I did not collect the tale of ancestry of each tribe instead
of the details of a few, but these will serve to show how a tribe was
formed and developed.

Each tribe till recently was exogamous, except when the tribe de-
scended from two or more separate stocks, which were then inter-
marriageable. Male blood alone counted.

Each tribe was divided into several "bratstvos" (groups of brothers
literally) consisting of many cousins and brothers, each calling the
other "brother" or "sister." In my time a bratstvo was not reckoned
farther than and including second cousins; but in former days it
extended farther. When I first lived in my guide's, Krsto's, hovel
Njegushi, I was amazed at the number of his brothers. The neighbours
were equally surprised by my narrow idea of a "brother." When I said
I believed I had cousins whom I had never seen and whose names
I did not know, all were horrified and said the English were no better
than dogs. They could not understand a bratstvo that did not live
on its own patch of ground. Scattering over the world they thought

Ancient Albania



THE Albanians, or *Shqipëtar*¹, as they rightfully call themselves, inhabit the territory covered by ancient Epirus and the country of the Illyrians, a country extending from the old Montenegro on the north to the Gulf of Arta, or Ambracia, on the south, and from the coast of the Adriatic on the west to the central chain of the Pindus Mountains on the east, or, in other words, Albania is situated on the east coast of the Adriatic Sea, southwest of Yugoslavia and north of Greece. Therefore, Albania is a Balkan country, not only because of her position, but principally by reason of her geographical characteristics, for the greater part of her area consists of the Balkan mountain ranges and her rivers belong to the same river system of the Balkan peninsula. Epirus is wild, mountainous and scenic; in fact, is the veritable Switzerland of the Balkans abounding in valleys of exceptional beauty and fertility.

000 The ancient Epirots were as distinct from

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¹ [i.e., Sons of Eagle; See Category 116, p. xv -- Analyst]

Illyria



IN its beginning, the Kingdom of Illyria comprised the actual territories of Dalmatia, Croatia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Montenegro, and northern and central Albania with a large part of modern Serbia. But in the course of its development, it extended all along the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea. Scutari was its capital just as it is now the capital of central and northern Albania. These boundaries were never clearly defined, and the name "Illyria" was ethnological rather than a geographical term. The older Greek historians wrote of "the Illyrians" not so much as a solid people but in reference to those Illyrian tribes inhabiting the regions extending eastward from the Adriatic between Liburnia and Epirus. (The Latin name, "Illyricum," was not synonymous with Illyria, for it was a name applied to divisions of the Roman Empire, the boundaries of which were frequently changed and often included an area much greater than Illyria proper.)

EPIRUS

of whom were born in Epirus (Albania). The¹⁷⁵ brother of Aeacides, Alcetas, succeeded him, but Alcetas was put to death by his subjects in 295 B. C. and Pyrrhus became king in 295 and ruled until 272 B. C. It was the same Pyrrhus who led his people against the Romans in Southern Italy and Sicily for six years and gave to Epirus its sole time of historic importance.

Three reigns of little importance followed this mighty king, after which Epirus was governed by a magistrate elected annually in a general assembly at Passaron, capital of Molossia.

Due to Epirus' opposition to Rome, it was devastated in 168 B. C. and never recovered. Later, in 146 B. C., it became part of the Roman province of Macedonia, receiving the name of Epirus Vetus.

A few centuries later Epirus was overrun by Illyrians. But it remained for Scanderbeg the Great, in 1443, to unite more closely the Epirots and the Illyrians.

Albanian tradition claims that the name¹⁰¹ "Shqipetar," meaning "Son of the Eagle," is their rightful title, as the name "Albanian" is entirely foreign to them. This title,

¹⁵
 = [Errata: should be Shqipëtar. Cf. Errata sheet,
 "p. 269, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

 ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

- 101 "Shqipetar"¹ originated with Pyrrhus of Epirus. It is related that when the swiftness of his troops was praised, Pyrrhus proudly answered that this was natural, inasmuch as his soldiers were the sons of the eagle, their movement as the flight of the king of birds.

000 Subjection to Rome, however, did not mean that the Shqipetars¹ were to give up all hope for independence.

491 Eventually Albania became the passage-way for the Roman legions on their way to the East. Embarking at Brindisi, the terminus of the Appian Way, they were transported to Dyrrachium (Durazzo—Durrës in Albanian language), continuing their journey on the Via Aegitana or Egnatia, the road bed of which is well preserved to the present day.

177 On the whole, Roman influence in Albania had been of little importance. Remains of Roman architecture and civilization may be seen throughout the country even today, but the influence of Rome in shaping the course of Albanian domestic culture or national life has been slight or was completely absorbed by later invasions.

¹ [Errata: should be Shqipëtar] (Cf. Errata sheet, p. 269, Cat. 116--Analyst)

ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

175^x former came under the influence of Roman Catholicism through Rome and the latter was swayed by Byzantium and the Greek Church.

In their temporary settlements the Serbs absorbed most of the Latinized civilization and attempted to infringe upon the powerful Illyrian city-states on the coast but they were fiercely rebuked and were driven back.

Most of the Illyrian tribes in the interior remained unconquered and never came under Slavonic influence.

- [101] Through the disintegration of united population, language and culture, the name of Illyria began to disappear from history and was only revived in the "Illyrian Provinces" of 1809 and the "Kingdom of Illyria" of 1816-49.

One invasion succeeded another. The Slavs under Emperor Heraclius, the Bulgarians under Tsar Simeon, and the Norman Conquest of 1081, under the leadership of Robert Guiscard, entrenched themselves in Albania.

- [102] The Normans, it is believed, are responsible for the name of Albania, which name has been used ever since.

During the time of the Crusaders, Albania was a thoroughfare for the Crusaders of

CHAPTER VIII.

ALBANIAN WOMEN: THEIR STATUS AND OCCUPATIONS.

- 121 As the character of a people is generally so much influenced by the nature of the country they inhabit, a brief description of the division of Turkey occupied by the Albanians may give greater interest to my remarks on this race. Albania, as its native name of
- 101 *Skiperi*, "The Land of Rocks," signifies, is one of the most mountainous divisions of Turkey. The principal
- 133 chain runs north and south, parallel with the Adriatic, and from it jut many spurs, composed of mountains as lofty as the main range, which ramify in every direction, so that almost the whole surface of the country is covered with rugged hills and deep valleys, save near the mouth of the river Ergenth. Even the coast is grandly mountainous, the spurs there often terminating in abrupt precipices, the sides of which are eternally beaten by the lashing waves.
- 132 Almost every variety of climate is found within the limits of Albania. In the south, and near the coast, the temperature is as mild as at Naples, and oranges, citrons, grapes, pomegranates, figs, and other fruits grow in abundance. But the cold increases with the distance from the sea, and only twenty miles from the Adriatic the snowfalls are heavy, and
- [137] the frosts severe. The higher and more northern

summits are clad in eternal snows, but at lower elevations stretch vast forests of pine and other trees, and rich pasturages on which the sheep and cattle of the Ghegs roam in summer. The land is cultivated to any considerable extent only in the south, where the climate is more suited to the production of crops, and the character of the people to the pursuit of agriculture.

Albania is divided into two *vilayets*, or provinces, called after the names of their chief towns, Scutari and Ioannina, the residences of the Ottoman Governors. The former, which is also called Northern Albania, is inhabited chiefly by the Ghegs and Miridites, and the latter by the Tosks, Khams, and Liaps, all of whom, however, are proud to call themselves by the national name of Skipetar.

Though nominally brought under the Turkish yoke and partially converted to Islam in the fifteenth century, after an heroic struggle of twenty-five years' duration under the famous Skanderbeg, the Albanians long maintained a sort of semi-independence. As Moslems, they fought under their own leaders in the armies of the Sultans, who esteemed them among their bravest soldiers, and rewarded their services with numerous privileges and grants of property. The warlike Albanians were consequently never in spirit a conquered race, and the old feudal social system, which they were still able to maintain, aided by the nature of their country, made it occasionally possible for the chieftains to throw off, for a time at least, the authority of the Sublime Porte. The most

¹ "Iskender Bey, the Lord Alexander."

PEAKS OF SHALA

valley of Bulqis, where there are springs of¹⁷³ strange waters, and that as they passed through the forest—there was in those days a great forest in the Bulqis, where now there are fields of grain—they rested by one of the springs, in the place where the great rocks are standing in rows. There they heard a sound of singing in a strange tongue, but the end of the song they understood, and the end of the song was, 'Long live Lec, the son of Filip i dyte, Lec i Madhe, the king of the world!'¹

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¹This story was told me in upper Thethis in the spring of 1921. In the summer of 1922 I visited the Mati, accompanied by Annette Marquis and Rrok Perolli. The Mati is a fertile high plateau defended by an unbroken ring of almost impassable mountains. It has never been conquered by foreign armies, though assailed by Romans, Turks, and Serbs; through 1920 and 1921 the men of Mati successfully defended their lands with their rifles against Serbian artillery. The present Prime Minister of the Albanian republic, Ahmet Bey Mati (or Ahmet Zogu, as he endeavors to persuade the people to call him, since the abolition of titles in Albania) is chief of the family which has ruled the Mati since Albania's quarter century of freedom under Scanderbeg, in the fifteenth century.

We were the first foreigners who had ever entered the Mati. We found the country, the people, and the customs quite different from those of the Dukaghini tribes described in this book, excepting only the unvarying Albanian hospitality. We visited the Bulqis, very terribly devastated by the invading Serbs in 1920 and 1921, and partly circled the city of Dibra, taken from Albania by the 1913 frontier line as a knife takes out the eye of a potato. The Albanian frontier commission of the League of Nations was at that time sitting in Scutari, and I regret that commissions do not sometimes travel along the frontiers they have made.

As to the story of Lec i Madhe, we drank the delicious waters of the many strangely flavored springs of Bulqis, and we lunched in the "place where the great rocks are standing in rows." These stones resemble those¹⁷² of Carnac and Stonehenge, though on a much smaller scale, and they may be relics of peoples who lived here prior to the arrival of the Albanians, or they may be a curious accident of geological formation.

On the site of the city Emadhija we found traces which seemed to us undeniably left by the work of human hands. They lie at the head of a valley in a flat triangular space formed by meeting mountain chains,

- 10 | The Albanians, who claim descent from the ancient Illyrians and Epirots, call themselves "Shkipetare", which, being interpreted, means "Sons of the Eagle". According to their folk-lore, they derive this name from a remark attributed to Pyrrhus, the King of Epirus. Returning from his victories in Macedonia, Pyrrhus was hailed by his troops as "Eagle", because of the swiftness of his movements in war. "You call me Eagle", he is said to have answered, "and it is true; for you, my soldiers, are 'Sons of the Eagle', and your lances are the pinions on which I soar."—J. A.

"Wheresoever the carcase is, there will the eagles be gathered together."—ST. MATTHEW xxiv. 28.

Introduction

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people, too, had their part, for they formed the permanent garrison of the key to the Adriatic. Once again, as so often in the past, the rival nations vied with one another to secure the friendship or compel the obedience of the Albanians; and they, owning no common allegiance, took sides and changed them in accordance with the dictates of interest and the counsels of opportunity. Thus the situation in Albania came to reflect, as in a mirror, the true relations between the Powers, obscured to the general view by the smoke of battle blown before the wind of words.

The policies of nations devolve in the last instance upon individuals; and in this, as in past struggles, lone men went out among the Albanian mountaineers to make their local feuds subserve the divergent and often inconsistent purposes of the strategists and statesmen who had sent them forth. Of these men I was one; and of a part of what I saw this is the tale.

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THE Albanians are a distinct people, not perhaps a nation^[181] but remarkable by the strength of their sense of nationality. Archaeologists believe the two main branches of their race — ^[181] the Ghegs and Tosks, whom the river Shkumbi divides — to be descended from the ancient Illyrians and Pelasgians. These peoples, perhaps the earliest Aryan invaders of the Balkans, may once have inhabited the whole region between the Danube and the Aegean and Adriatic seas; but successive waves of invasion have worn them down by assimilation or massacre, and only a remnant survives in the land known as Albania.

This land, the exact boundaries of which have fluctuated^[133] with the fortunes of the Albanians and their conquerors, forms a wedge between the massif of Montenegro and the Pindus range. It consists of a rich but malarial coastal plain, in which lie the two harbours of Durazzo and Valona, and a mountainous interior; an extension of the Dinaric Alps. In contrast, however, to the bare and arid Karst of Dalmatia, the Albanian mountains are thickly wooded and convulsed out of their former

Reconnaissance

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or compounded and, above all, what sides the clan should take in the strife of political factions. Tsen Lezi had long been a supporter of Abas Kupa and he received us well. 596

It was already May, but in the mountains we had still lived amid the gales and snow of winter. Next morning, however, as we descended from Tsen Lezi's house, we came out of the mists into the sunlight and saw the broad Mati valley spread out below us like a promised land. Fat sheep and cattle grazed in the undulating pastures; whitewashed houses, the tallest in Albania, were scattered over the low, wooded hills; and beyond the sparkling river the ground rose steeply to the wild glens of Mirdita. The guerillas had not left the mountains since autumn; and now, at the sight of the sunlit valley, the long line of men winding down the hillside broke into a strident song. Presently Abas Kupa called a halt and we sat down to refresh our eyes with the view. Hitherto I had always looked on mountains as holiday grounds; but the guerillas' song touched some atavistic chord in me and for the first time I experienced the weary highlander's longing for the plain. 133

Mati was rich and populated, the region where the tribal system of the mountains mingled with the feudalism of the coastal plain. The land and flocks were still owned and worked in common by the different clans; but their chiefs were already known as *Beys*; and the wealthier among them employed hired labour and rented out some of their fields to poorer families. The men of Mati were reputed devout Moslems and, as is often the way of the pious, they lived well; renowned for their lavish hospitality and comfortably appointed houses. They had prospered especially under the monarchy; for King Zog was a man of Mati and his first care had been for the people of his valley. Many, though they could not read nor write, had been given appointments in the civil service; and, following the tradition of the Turks, Zog had conferred reserve commissions on most of the *Beys*. This was not indeed to compel them to military service, but to bind them more closely to his cause by the payment of an honourable and regular pension. The valley had benefited, moreover, from an ambitious programme of public works; a road and 101 ● 643 [212] 653

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The Dibrans, like the men of Mati, lived an existence half pastoral, half agricultural, in which the tribalism of the mountains merged with the feudalism of the plains. They were a grim and calculating breed of men, a border people waging a ceaseless war with their Slav neighbours from Macedonia. The town of Dibra had been a rich centre of trade under the Ottoman Empire, but now it was shrunk to little more than a quarter of its former size. The fall of the Turk had perhaps interrupted the peaceful progress of commerce, but the struggle of the Powers for the control of Macedonia afforded the Dibran chiefs splendid opportunities for mercenary enterprise. For close on a century the rival nations had provided their clients among them with arms and subsidies; and so practised had the chiefs become in the technique of power politics that at any time the balance of power between the leading Dibran families reflected the exact relation between their foreign patrons. The ends which the Dibrans served were purely mercenary, but nevertheless they had learnt from experience the fundamental truth that freedom can only be preserved and wealth attained by the exercise of power. Moreover they understood, and this was perhaps the surest proof of their political genius, that it is not given even to the keenest brains to know with certainty where their interests lie. Each clan accordingly sought to reinsure against the imponderable factors in a situation by systematically placing a relative in each of the different political camps. 101 • [181]

Dibra was said to hold five thousand rifles; but so divided were the Dibrans by local blood feuds and foreign intrigues that it seemed doubtful whether any clan could command the direct allegiance of more than five hundred men. The most powerful man in the region was Fikri Dine, once a henchman of King Zog. Fikri had led the rising of the Dibran clans in 1943: then he had routed the Italians and driven them out of Dibra city; but now, for fear of the Communists, he supported the Tirana Government. He came from a small clan and drew his power, not from the number of his rifles, but from his personal ascendancy over the bigger chiefs who had control of man-power. Like the chiefs of Mati they were torn by blood 669*

LAND OF THE HIGHLAND GHEGS

101 THE people who form the object of this study are the mountaineers who inhabit the Dinaric mountain chain on either side of the gorge cut by the river Drin on its way from the Serbian plain to the Adriatic. Most of their country lies inside the political boundaries of Albania, but parts of it have belonged to Yugoslavia for the past third of a century. [197] They speak the northern of the 2 Albanian languages, or dialects,¹ Gheg. They are not, however, the only Gheg speakers. There are [121] Lowland as well as Highland Ghegs. The present study concerns only the latter. The reason why they were specially chosen is that they still preserved, in 1929, a full tribal system of social organization, something very rare in Europe. This has one critical advantage: rules of preferential mating are definite, and are still observed. We know not only who marries whom, but we may also be sure that the same system has been going on for many generations. For a study of human genetics this material has obvious advantages.

The Highland Ghegs who form the object of our investigation belonged to 10 tribes, shown on figure 1. These are Malsia e Madhe, Dukagin, Malsia e Jakovës, Has, Luma, Puka, Mirdita, Zadrime, Mati, and Dibra. Before 1913 all of the tribes, except Dukagin, which now touch Yugoslavia extended a certain distance into the present territory of that country. On parts of the northern border the overlap is an old one. Many of the Montenegrin gentes admit descent from Albanian families, and one finds every stage of linguistic and cultural assimilation between the 2 ethnic units. Just north of Scutari, however, several 728 fully Albanian villages were handed over to 101 Serbia after the Balkan War, and this caused both economic and political distress. Farther east, from Peia to Dibra, the boundary commission which laid out the border between the 2 countries at that time gave the Yugoslavs all of the strategic positions, and all of the market

¹ Gheg and Tosk in extreme dialectic forms are mutually incomprehensible. It would be hard to state definitely whether they are closely related languages or dialects of one language. Each has numerous local

¹ [see cat. 116, p. 6 -- Analyst]

² [cat. p. 7c -- Analyst] -7b-

[728]
101 towns along the Serbo-Albanian border which served as an economic outlet for both peoples.

This ethnic border is far from clear-cut. Several whole tribes of Ghegs live on the Kossovo plain, along with villages of Serbs. The ancestors of these Lowland Ghegs migrated there in the time of the Turks, after the defeat of the Tzar Dushan. These displaced Ghegs are probably descended from the highland tribes, but it would take much work to establish their exact relationships. We were unable to measure more than a few of them, and therefore shall not consider them in this study.

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162 The Lowland Ghegs of Albania, who equally eluded our calipers, occupy the country from the tribal regions eastward to the Adriatic and southward to the river Shkumbi, the traditional frontier between Ghegnia and Toskeria. Many of the Tosks are Greek Orthodox Christians. The Ghegs who are Christians are Roman Catholics. The majority of both divisions is Moslem. The most solidly Moslem part of Albania is the central region, in both Ghegnia and Toskeria, where the landscape is the least rugged. Both brands of Christianity lived through the Turkish regime most successfully in the mountains. In the south, beside the Tosks, are thousands of Vlachs—shepherds speaking Rumanian as their native tongue—and Bulgars. The Epirote borderland cuts through an area where Greek and Albanian villages overlap, causing trouble.

Throughout Albania one finds camps of nomadic gypsies, living by their traditional trades of metal-working, fortune-telling, horse-trading, etc. In the larger cities there is always a gypsy quarter, whose inhabitants also serve as musicians and prostitutes. In the Gheg country, however, there is no room for gypsy camps or quarters, and the only gypsies which I saw or heard of there were a single individual in Bicaj, and another in Kukës, both in the tribe of Luma.

[97] subdivisions. The official language of Albania is based on the southern Gheg dialect spoken in the city of Elbasan.

† [author must mean westward. - Analyst]

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heaved at different periods, flow its 2 rivers and their tributaries. These are the Drin and the Mati. By studying them one can arrive most readily at a knowledge of the tribal geography of Ghegnia.

East of Kukës there are 2 Drins, White and Black. The White Drin carries off the water from the eastward slope of the Peia or Pesh region in Montenegro, then flows southward to the Albanian border, where it turns west. A short but swift confluent flows westward under the bridges and flourmills of the city of Prizren. The Black Drin is the outlet for Lake Ochrida, south of Gheg territory. It flows northward in a nearly straight line through the Dibra valley, past the towns of Big Dibra and Little Dibra (Peshkopia). As it flows northward the valley grows narrow, and in places becomes a gorge, which opens out again before the river reaches Kukës.

At Kukës the 2 branches meet. From this point on, the slope of the river bed is great, and the water rushes down, foaming and leaping, through its canyon-like channel until it reaches the lowlands, where it divides into 2 channels. One flows into Lake Scutari, which in turn empties into the sea. The other goes directly into the Adriatic. Except for the last few miles of its passage, the Drin is too swift for navigation. Its possibilities for hydro-electric power are great.

The other river, the Mati, flows into the sea a short distance south of Lesh. It drains the tribal lands of Mati, and most of Mirdita. It too is swift and unnavigable, and in winter and spring often impossible to ford.

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These rivers and their watersheds form the usual boundaries between tribes. Dibra and Mati form the drainages of the Black Drin and Mati rivers, respectively; and the watershed between these rivers is their boundary. The White Drin, in Yugoslavia, is the boundary between Fias and the lowland tribe of Podrima; in both countries it divides Has from Luma; and in Albania alone, the combined Drin divides Has from Puka, Malsia e Jakovës from Puka, Dukagin from Puka, and Malsia e Madhe from Puka and Zadrima. The northern branch of the Mati, the Fan, which is in turn divided into the Little Fan and the Big Fan,

133 drains Mirdita, except for the *bairak* of Spaç,
 101 the northwestern finger of which forms part
 of the Drin system. With this same exception,
 the watershed between the Drin and the 2 Fans
 is the boundary between Puka and Mirdita.
 The continuation of the watershed between
 Mati and Dibra again separates, farther north,
 Mirdita from Luma. Mati and Mirdita, and
 Dibra and Luma east of the Black Drin, are
 parted by deep valleys, running laterally, cut
 on opposite sides of the river.

133 These rivers serve more often as tribal
 boundaries than as routes of travel. Their
 banks are so steep that the roads usually follow
 the crests and shoulders of the mountains, only
 dipping down into the valleys where it is
 necessary to cross them. Their waters are so
 swift that only in rare spots can they be nav-
 igated. All in all, they are barriers to travel
 and communication.

132 It is a rule long known to geographers that
 in the Mediterranean basin, lands lying on the
 western slopes of peripheral land masses re-
 ceive more rain than those on the east.² The
 higher the mountains flanking the coast, the
 more the rain. Ghegnia and Montenegro have
 the heaviest rainfall of any Mediterranean
 countries. The Adriatic coast, from Lesh up
 to Dubrovnik, receives well over 60 inches of
 rain a year; and all of Ghegnia, back from the
 coast, gets between 60 and 40 inches, with the
 total decreasing to the east.

This is not all winter rain. It may rain any
 month of the year, and the summer rainfall
 totals anywhere from 4 to 8 inches, enough to
 permit the cultivation of maize by dry farm-
 ing. This fact alone takes the Gheg highlands
 out of the Mediterranean climate area. The
 winter rain, which begins to fall in September,
 becomes snow at the higher altitudes. Only in
 the highest valleys and on the peaks does it
 last out the winter. Elsewhere a succession of
 snowfalls and thaws renders this region as un-
 pleasant as New England in early spring.

The temperature again prohibits the growth
 of many Mediterranean crops, such as the fig
 and olive, which soon disappear as one leaves
 the coast. All of the uplands receive severe
 winter frosts, and on the border of the Kos-
 sovo plain the climate becomes continental.

- 121 **H**ABERLANDT, Baron Nopcsa, and others have written learnedly and in detail about the material culture of the Gheg mountaineers.¹ It is not my intention to duplicate their work. What I have to say about technology in this place is written for one purpose only, to elucidate the problem of human genetics in northern Albania. First of all, we shall examine the anthropometric series itself, since that is the source of our information on the Gheg phenotype (fig. 12).² The measurement blanks contain, besides the anthropometric and observational constants, the following information for each subject: serial number, sex, date, place measured, age, tribe, *bairak*, father's group, mother's group, number of wives belonging to father, number of children of each sex per wife, occupation, office or rank, religion, kinship with other members of series, and photographic reel and frame number.
- 124 We measured 1102 persons. Of these, 1058 were tribesmen both of whose parents had come from the same tribe as the subject. Eleven resulted from intertribal marriages. Thirty-three others remain to be accounted for. Nine were sons of Has fathers and Podrima mothers, 4 were Podrima men. These 13 were living in Has tribal territory, on the Yugoslav side of the border. Podrima is one of the Albanian tribes situated on the plain of Kossovo, wholly in Yugoslav territory. No

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¹[see cat. 121, p. 11 d -- Analyst]

²[see cat. 116, p. 112 -- Analyst]

101 intermarriages were recorded between Po-
drima people and Has tribesmen from the
Albanian side of the border.

124 The 20 others were outsiders in Albanian-
controlled Gheg tribal territory. Sixteen came
from the large market town of Big Dibra
(Dibra e Madhe to the Albanians, Debar to the
Serbs) in Yugoslavia, which contains a mixed
population of Albanians, Serbs, and a few
Turks. One was a Serbian-speaking Moslem
from the alien *bairak* of Gorë which forms
part of the tribe of Luma; his home lay also
beyond the border. Another was an Albanian
from the town of Jakova. Two others came
from inside Ghegania but outside the tribal
territory—from Krujë and Elbasan, respec-
tively.

These 20 men were all first-generation im-
migrants. There was no older generation like
them. I measured none of their sons, and thus
this particular immigration had had no effect
on our series. All of them were specialists in
some kind of technology. Through the study
of the data on occupations given in our tabula-
tions we can discover the exact situation of
these people.

124 In our series of 1102 men, 36 occupations
463 were listed. These may be grouped into 7
classes: extractive, processing, services, trans-
port, trade, political, and religious. Their dis-
tribution among the 10 tribes and 44 "others"
is as follows:

1 [see p. 11d - Analyst]

INTRODUCTION

xv

merely to ethnologists and social anthropologists but also to those concerned with the early history of jurisprudence.

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Apart from that the contents of this volume are likely to be of no little interest to the general reader as giving an account of the unfamiliar way of life of a people of very distinct and individual culture, who have throughout history taken pride and pleasure in their separateness. For the Albanians, direct descendants of the ancient Illyrians, still retain something of their ancient form of Aryan speech very distinct from that of other branches of the family; they still retain an ancient tribal system; and they still have that passionate love of independence which caused many of them to forsake their native mountains and form settlements in Greece, Calabria, and Sicily when their country was occupied by the Turks after the death of their leader Skanderbeg (George Castriota) in 1467. As a result of the Turkish conquest several of the Albanian tribes changed from Christianity to Islam, and there are now many Muslim Albanians as well as both Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholic Christians. The Mirdite, who constitute the biggest tribe, were perhaps at one time Orthodox, and are now staunch Catholics. But their profession of faith seems to have affected but little the adherence of the Albanians to their ancient customs.

101●

J. H. HUTTON

NEW RADNOR

June 1953

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[End map (A) - Upper Left]

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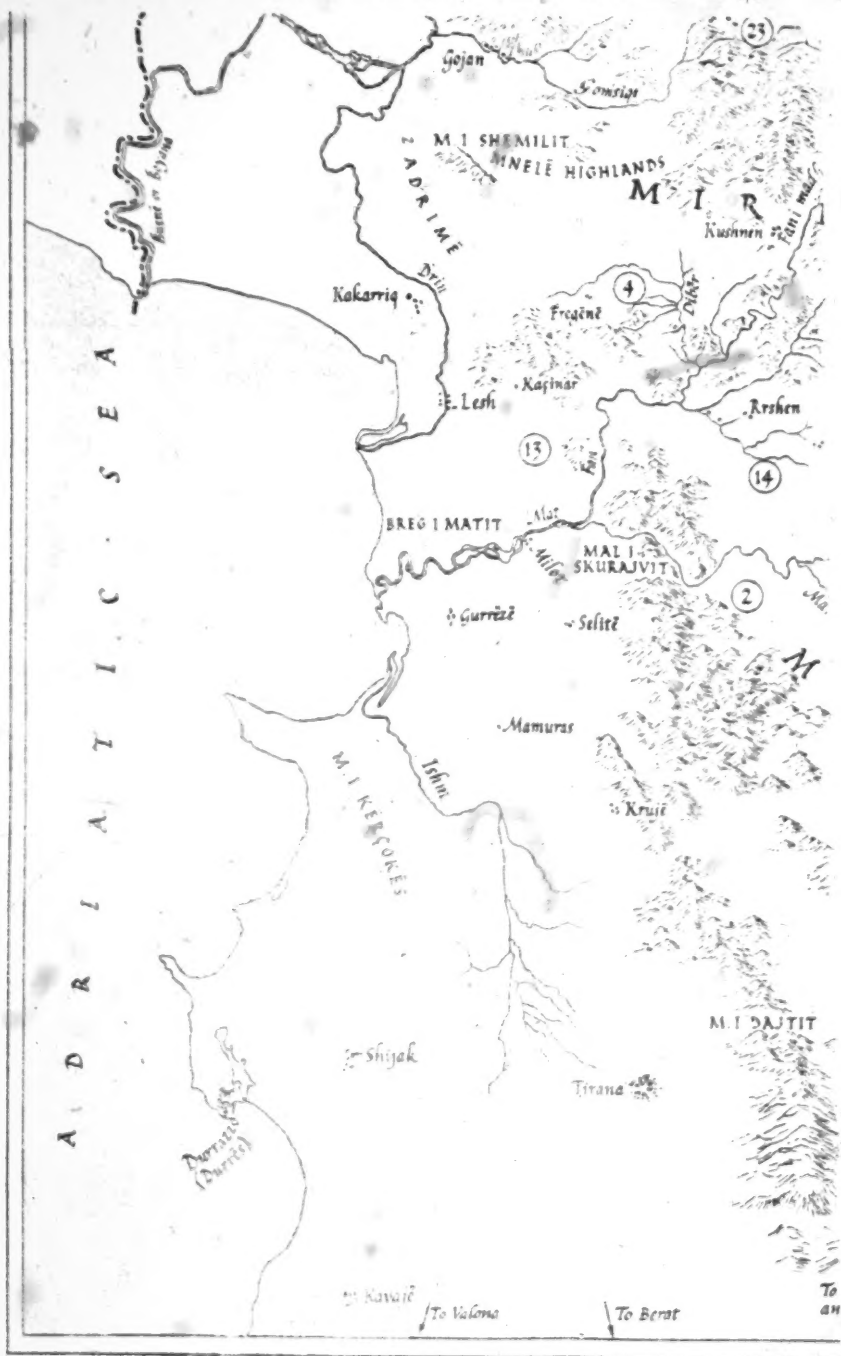
Key to tribes

- | | | | |
|-------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|
| 1. Berishë | 8. Hot | 15. Kurbin | 22. Nikë |
| 2. Beshkash | 9. Kastrat | 16. Lumë | 23. Pukë |
| 3. Bytyç | 10. Kastriot | 17. Lurë | 24. Selcë |
| 4. Dibër | 11. Kir | 18. Matje | 25. Shalë |
| 5. Drisht | 12. Krasniq | 19. Murtur | 26. Shkrel |
| 6. Gash | 13. Kryezez | 20. Mirditë | 27. Theth |
| 7. Has | 14. Kithellë | 21. Nikaj | 28. Toplanë |



[End map (B)- Upper Right]

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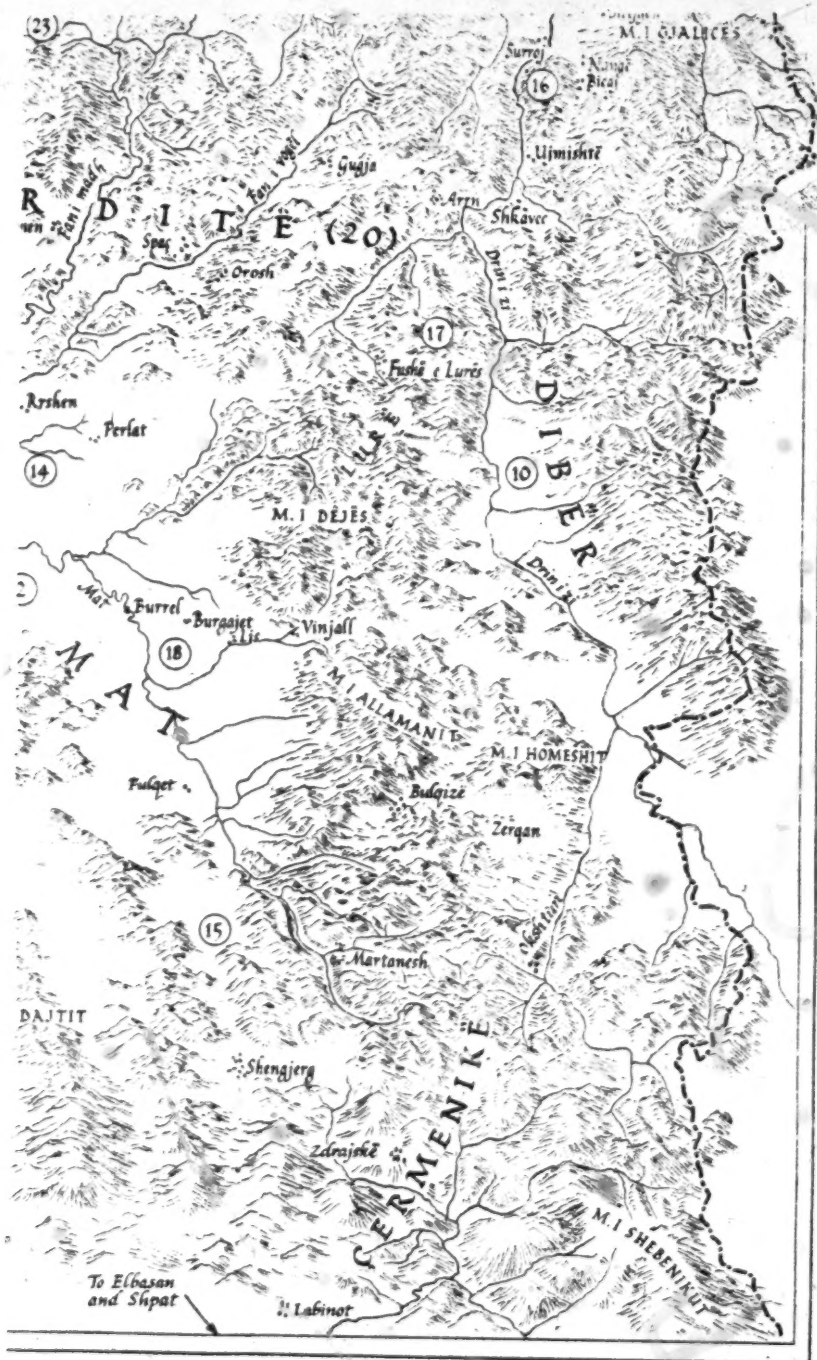


THE NORTH ALBANIAN MOUN

[End map (C)-Lower Left]

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGI Albania EGI

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N MOUNTAINS AND TRIBES

[End Map (D)-Lower Right]

1: Karutz--67 E-4 (no date) 1925 E1 Europe
Yugoslavia EF1
Albania EG1

4.
291 consists of caps that have been sewn on, as well as a bush of peacock's
feathers and colored cock's feathers. (Compare Globus, volume 78,
page 387). The carpet aprons that are illustrated in Figure 5 likewise
4.
326 have their original provenience from the northeast. / As is the rule
throughout the Balkans, the silver ornamentation among the Bosnian
South Slavs is rich and variegated. Especially filigree is forged with
the greatest of artistic skill.

/97: Illustrations. /

/98/

The Albanians

I.

000 1. Type of fortified building. 2. Hut in Durazzo. 3. Mountain
hut near Gusinje. 4. and 5. Chairs. 6. Cradle from Planti. 7. Fire-
place in Nikaj. 8. Interior of a hut in Pula with intertwined reed
walls, and a roof consisting of rafters, reed, and bulrush bundles.
9. Fireplace and hearth bench in a niche of the wall, in Hotin. 10.
House door in Brebula, with an ornament arched like a wedge, and
hook-like stone projections used for hanging up the guns. 11. Interior
of a fortified house (kula). 12. Fireplace with hearth bench and smoke
outlet in the niche of the wall. 13. Carving on a chest from Scutar

A.
101

Between Montenegro and Epirus the strongly mountainous coastal
area of the Balkan Peninsula has preserved primitive European racial
elements and maintained ancient cultural forms. Here the Albanian
people is settled, the people of the Skyptars, the troglodytes or in-
habitants of the land of the eagles or of the descendants of eagles,
according to the various explanations. By the Turks they are called
A. 144 Arnauts. From pre-Aryan Illyrians, who belong to the oldest inhabitants
of the European-Asiatic land mass, and from Aryan Thracians there
was formed a basic stock. To this were added Goths, Slavs, Greeks,
and, since 1450, Turks, as well as sporadic Roman elements and later
Italian influxes along the coast. All these combined to form the

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Albanians who today are divided into two groups according to the dialects
of their Indo-European language, that is, into the northern Gëgen and
the southern Tuscans. These two groups are in turn divided into a great
number of sub-stocks. The former, with predominantly Slavic, Serbian
blood, are tougher, more war-like, more conservative; the Tuscans,

1. [For illustrations, see 1: Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p. 679--Analyst]
2. [For 1: Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p. 664--Analyst]

III. THE HOUSES OF THE ALBANIANS

The Albanians, as descendants of the ancient Illyrians⁽¹⁾, belong, as well as the Greeks, to the most ancient inhabitants of the Haimos Peninsula, but they have not developed their own civilization either in ancient times nor in medieval years. Living almost isolated on a mountainous and inaccessible country, the Albanians have retained for many centuries their ancient customs, and even to-day they represent the patriarchal level in the evolution of civilization⁽²⁾. This is the reason why everything connected with the life and the dwellings of the Albanians presents a particular interest to the numerous foreign tourists and ethnographers who, from time to time, have made relative surveys.

The most complete survey on the dwellings of the Albanians is, as far as I know, the book on Albania by Franz Baron Nopcsa⁽³⁾. In this book, the author has summed up his previous impressions on housing in Northern Albania⁽⁴⁾; and, at the same time, took into

1) The question of the origin of Albanians has not yet been clarified. Some recent linguistic surveys question the origin of the Albanian language from the Illyrian and accept a rather close relation between the Albanian and Thracian languages. C. Patsch (see Herbert Louis, *Albanien*, Stuttgart, 1927, p. 41) has found traces of Thracians near the Adriatic sea.

2) See K. Amantos, *Oi Bórgioi Γείτονας τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, Athens, 1923, pp. 129-189. A. Keramopoulos, *Oi Ἕλληνας καὶ oi Bórgioi Γείτονας*, Athens, 1925, p. 198. Compare the journeys of K. Steinmetz, E. Liebest, and Fr. Nopcsa in *Zur Kunde der Balkanhalbinsel* hrsg. von C. Patsch, vol. I 3. 6 10. 11. Baschmakoff, *A travers le Montenegro et le pays de Geuges*, St. Pétersb. 1911 and H. Louis, pp. 36-40.

3) Franz Baron Nopcsa, *Albanien, Bauten, Trachten, Geräte*, Nordalbaniens, Berlin und Leipzig, 1925. Nopcsa is followed by H. Louis, on the subject of Albanian houses (p. 53-59).

4) Fr. Baron Nopcsa, *Aus Sala und Klementi* (*Zur Kunde der Balkanhalbinsel* hrsg. von Patsch, vol. II) Sarajevo 1910. *Haus und Hausrath im Katholischen Nordalbanien* (volume 16) Sarajevo 1912.